Swoboda, Sören: **Leben nach dem Tod**. Josephus im Kontext antiker Geschichtsschreibung. Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk 2019. 166 S. = Stuttgarter Bibelstudien, 245. Kart. EUR 28,00. ISBN 978-3-460-03454-9.

This monograph is closely connected with Sören Swoboda's major study »Tod und Sterben im Krieg bei Josephus« (2014, see ThLZ 3/141 [2016], 185–187). It ultimately goes back to the so far unpublished final chapter of his 2012 dissertation. It confirms S.'s argument in his study from 2014 about Josephus' aims and his intended audience in the Jewish War and the Antiquities. It focuses on the passages about the afterlife in connection with the Jewish attitude towards death as presented by Josephus. S. offers an encompassing discussion of the relevant passages in Josephus, which he compares, after a detailed survey, with the relevant Graeco-Roman passages about the afterlife, starting with Herodotus and ending with Cassius Dio (who died after 229 C. E.). He also offers brief discussions of 1 and 2 Maccabees and concludes his analysis of Josephus' passages about the afterlife in the context of ancient historiography with a brief discussion of the relevance of his outcomes for the study of the New Testament, in particular the eschatology in Luke-Acts.

The survey of the relevant Graeco-Roman passages is concise but nevertheless almost complete (except from Diodorus' many references to the afterlife). It offers a fine overview with useful observations, pointing, for example, to the ambiguities in Diodorus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus concerning the connection between eternal fame and an afterlife of the soul that would allow for one's enjoyment of this fame.

The chapter about Josephus' passages includes a good survey of previous scholarship on the afterlife in Josephus, and he conveniently summarizes the main results on pp. 72–74. Josephus takes the concept of a soul living in the body (sometimes as a part of God, see BJ 3.372–373) for granted, in line with Hellenistic-Roman views. The soul leaves the body after a person's death without an intermediary stage, either to a kind of underworld (sometimes called Hades) or to a heavenly location, depending on one's behaviour during life. Josephus implies that a Jewish way of life leads to a virtuous life, and as a consequence to a reward in the afterlife (e. g. AJ 17.354). S. concludes that Josephus seems to reckon with the possibility of a transmigration of the soul to another body for those who lived in a positive way. Explicit references to a bodily afterlife are missing, which is one of the striking contrasts with Luke-Acts, but S. consid-ers the possibility that Josephus avoided to discuss this view be-cause it would be unfamiliar to his intended audience.

Josephus does not offer coherent discussions of the afterlife, his passages serve other purposes. The belief of the Essenes in a posthumous life, for example, serves the motivation to be ready to die (BJ 2.151–153). Four other passages in Bellum, including 6.33–53 and 7.341–356, would also highlight such a motivation in a military context and they are part of Josephus' argument that this willingness to die points to the collective braveness of the Jewish people. S. definitely has a point here, but his category of five of such passages seems a bit arbitrary. He includes BJ 1.650–653 about the demolition of Herod's golden eagle in this list, because of the correspondences with the other passages, but he acknowledges that the context of this passage is different (no war), and I would add that the assessment of the perpetrators is not entirely positive in this passage. BJ 3.361–382, the famous passage about Josephus who surrend-ers himself to the Romans, raises questions which call for further discussion: one of the reasons in Josephus' vehement argument against suicide is his finding that there was no military need for it because the Romans were not attacking his group and did not intend to kill them (3.365).

The comparison of the Graeco-Roman and Josephan passages from a text pragmatic perspective shows that both Josephus and Graeco-Roman historians connect views about the afterlife with a readiness to die, foremost concerning foreigners (e. g. Indian sages in Strabo 15.1.59 and 73). However, this theme is far more prominent in Josephus, who may have wanted to present the Jews as a foreign nation in order to enhance the interest of his intended readers. Josephus' passages differ in still other ways from the Graeco-Roman parallels: the protagonists try to motivate others to be ready to die or argue against that; these motivations are central to the passages, and Josephus mostly supports the view of the protagonists in his comments, which implies that he is unique as a historian because he identifies himself and his people with these views about the afterlife. In short: this is a readable, well-argued and most welcome new study into the afterlife in Josephus.

Amsterdam Jan Willem van Henten

Judaistik

Ben-Eliyahu, Eyal: **Identity and Territory**. Jewish Perceptions of Space in Antiquity. Berkeley u. a.: University of California Press 2019. XII, 195 S. m. 5 Abb. u. 6 Ktn. Geb. US$ 95,00. ISBN 978-0-520-29360-1.

This study of the relationship between spatial perception and identity in post-biblical Judaism stands in line with the recent scholarly focus on space and geography in antiquity (cf. Peter Van Nuffelen, ed., *Historiography and Space in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge: CUP, 2019; Daniela Dueck and Kai Brodersen, eds., *Geography in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge: CUP, 2012) and in *Jewish culture* (Barbara E. Mann, *Space and Place in Jewish Studies*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012; Charlotte E. Fonrobert, »The New Spatial Turn in Jewish Studies«, *AJS Review* 33:1, 2009, 155–64). It is the revised and expanded English version of a book published in Hebrew in 2014 (*Between Borders: The Boundaries of the Land of Israel* etc., Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi). Whereas the earlier Hebrew study (which was not available to this reviewer) claims to closely analyse the literary sources, this English volume is more conceptual in its approach to the significance of territory in Second Temple and rabbinic sources.

Maurice Halbwachs's theory of a »collective memory« attached to space is transformed into the notion of »cultural memory« that differs from one (sub-)group to the next and is subject to historical changes and fluctuations. From biblical times onwards, the various religious, political, and socio-economic identities of the respective authors and those they represented determined the ways in which the land of Israel, its borders and locations within were perceived. This approach stands in line with cultural geography's insight that »society shapes landscape« (6). In addition to changing political rules, »[t]erritory is associated with ethnicity and is dependent on demographics« (7). The perception of space must therefore be examined within the parameters of border definitions, power relationships, and historical changes.

The book's five chapters deal with specific spatial issues relevant in ancient Jewish history and literature: the focus on Judah/Judaea and/or Israel; the varying notions of the land of Israel's borders; the notion of the Holy Land and holy places in confrontation with Christianity and its emerging pilgrimage practices of the fourth and fifth centuries C. E. Whereas the book of Chronicles occasion-

ally uses the term »land of Israel« for the entirety of the southern kingdom of Judah and the northern kingdom of Israel, Ezra and Nehemiah are concerned with the Persian district of Yehud only. Only in the literature of the Second Temple period is the term »Israel« consistently used for the »memory of the biblical Sons of Israel« (21) and the land where they settled. The repeated use of the term »Sons of Israel« for the entire »nation« or ethnic group is sexist and annoying. One wonders why the editors did not spot this translation of the biblical *bnei Yisrael* and correct it into the gender-inclusive »children of Israel«. B.-E. argues that the shift from »Judah«/Judaea to »Israel« occurred in the second half of the Hasmonean period and continued throughout rabbinic times. The official Roman name of the province until Hadrian was Judaea. After the Bar Kokhba revolt, perhaps as a punitive measure, the province was renamed »Syria Palaestina«. B.-E. assumes that the rabbinic use of the term »Israel« rather than »Jews« »reflects the complete transformation from a Judean to an Israelite identity« (27) that was probably bolstered by the demographic shift towards the Galilee and the coastal plain in the second and third centuries C. E.

The chapter on the varying notions of the land of Israel's borders (chapter 2) as well as the chapter on rabbinic perceptions of the land (chapter 4), which deals with some of the same issues, suffer from a lack of any detailed discussions of textual sources. Mere summaries of arguments that are not backed up by literary examinations are presented here. B.-E. states that the biblical tradition already provides »heterogeneous« views of the land's borders, a phenomenon that continues in Second Temple and rabbinic texts. The ways in which the land of Israel is delimited are based on ideological factors, such as reminiscences of the time of the biblical monarchy and re-sistance to foreign rule, and real demographic and geopolitical changes. Whether Josephus deliberately refrains from defining the borders of »the land of the Jews« in his *Jewish War* to separate himself from the (other) rebel leaders' »national consciousness« while specifying the borders of the land of Canaan in his later work *Jewish Antiquities* due to »shifts in his identity« and greater »identification with the Jewish people« (53–5) is questionable. He is dealing with different entities – biblical Canaan and contemporary Roman Judaea – after all.

In his chapter on the »Land of the Sages« B.-E. talks about rabbinic literature as if it were a homogeneous whole. References to Usha in the Babylonian Talmud are taken literally as historical evidence of rabbinic settlement in this location. While acknowledging that rabbinic geographical demarcations primarily served ritual halakhic purposes and/or were based on biblical texts and exegesis, he believes that changes in Jewish demographics also played a role. Rabbinic texts are considered to reflect shifts on the ground, such as the move from Judaea to the Galilee and Golan Heights after the two revolts and Diocletian's administrative reforms that led to the inclusion of the southern areas into (Syria-)Palestine. The essentialist notion of the »impurity of the land of the gentiles« (98) has recently been challenged by Mira Balberg in a book (*Purity, Body, and Self in Early Rabbinic Literature,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014) B.-E. does not mention. According to Balberg, impurity should be seen as a subjective category that rabbis applied to themselves and other Jews but not to non-Jews, who remained outside of the rabbinic halakhic system. While rabbis could contract impurity abroad, »gentile« land as such was not considered impure; otherwise rabbis would not have been able to travel and move about, not even in their own neighbourhoods and cities that had mixed populations in late antiquity.

Similarly problematic are B.-E.'s contradictory statements about rabbis' perception of the holiness of the land. Already at the beginning he refers to »their Holy Land« (15). In connection with Mishnah Kelim 1:6–9 he notes that for rabbis the land of Israel was »holier than all the [other] lands« (116). The perceived holiness of the land and Jerusalem was linked to the (Holy of Holies in the) Temple, however, and rabbis were aware of its absence after the Temple's destruction in 70 C. E. Therefore the statement, »the only places the rabbis considered holy were the Temple, Jerusalem, and the unit of the land of Israel as a whole« (ibid.) is wrong if understood in relation to rabbis' own post-Temple times. Unlike the author of 2 Maccabees, who talks about Jerusalem as the »Holy City« and the land of Israel as the »Holy Land« (1:7), rabbis did not consider the Roman-occupied province of (Syria-)Palestine inherently holy and also refrained from using this terminology for the rabbinically defined land of Israel, to prevent idolatry and to distinguish themselves from Christians who, from the time of Constantine onwards, flocked to »holy places« within their spiritual entity of a »Holy Land«. B.-E. is right, however, in juxtaposing the Christian spiritual entity with the very real land rabbis lived in and were familiar with: »The popularity of the concept of the ›Holy Land‹ demonstrates the diminished status of physical territory« (75) in Philo's and Paul's writings already. In later times, the Madaba map and Eusebius's Onomasticon are concerned with specific points (»holy« sites) in space, whereas the Rehov inscription applies rabbinic agricultural rules to the region of the Bet Shean valley. In the latter, the boundaries of the land of Israel are defined in terms of agricultural law, not in terms of the land's inherent sanctity.

The volume addresses important issues that should interest scholars and students of rabbinic literature, ancient history, and early Christianity. Hopefully, it will spur further discussions and closer analyses of the relevant sources in the future.

London Catherine Hezser

Clemens, Lukas, and Christoph **Cluse** [Eds.]: **The Jews of Europe around 1400**. Disruption, Crisis, and Resilience. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2018. VIII, 287 S. m. 3 Abb. u. 1. Kt. = Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden. Abt. A: Abhandlungen, 27. Geb. EUR 58,00. ISBN 978-3-447-11121-8.

Der Sammelband enthält Texte in deutscher, englischer und französischer Sprache, die auf einer Konferenz zum Thema »Europas Juden um 1400: Brüche, Krisen und Resilienz« vom 29.9. bis 2.10. 2013 vorgetragen wurden. Ziel war die Vorbereitung eines DFG-Projekts zum Thema »Resilience: Phases of Societal Upheaval in Dialogue between Medieval Studies and Sociology«, das im Juli 2016 in Trier beginnen konnte. Um die »Resilienz« der jüdischen Minderheit im christlichen Europa, also um die Frage, inwiefern die Juden die Fähigkeit besaßen, mit den Krisen des Mittelalters – vor allem mit der Katastrophe des »Schwarzen Todes« (1348–1351) und den anschließenden Judenverfolgungen – umzugehen und durch Rückgriff auf persönliche und sozial vermittelte Ressourcen Auswege zu finden, geht es in den Beiträgen des Bandes.

Der einleitende Aufsatz von *Michael Schlachter* (»Zur Reorganisation jüdischen Lebens in Aschkenas nach 1350«, 31–53) behandelt am Beispiel ausgewählter Urkunden die Rückkehr der Juden und die Neuorganisation des synagogalen Lebens nach den Pestpogromen um die Mitte des 14. Jh.s. Es folgen Einzelstudien zu Fällen individueller jüdischer »Resilienz« im späten 14. und frühen 15. Jh. *Jörg R. Müller* untersucht die Geschichte eines Speyerer jüdischen Kaufmanns, der vom Mainzer Erzbischof Adolf I. (1373/81–1390) die hochstiftisch-speyerische Burg Spangenberg übertragen bekam, wobei der »Jude Kaufmann« seine persönlichen Beziehungen nutzte und ihm ökonomische Vorsorgemaßnahmen zugute-